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lows almost without question from these remarks of Orderic.

But to go further and risk a conjecture as to the content of these tales is another matter. We should suppose that the element of romantic adventure entered into them, at least into some of the situations which Dares outlines, the story of Briseida, of Achilles' passion. At all events the tales were there, they were undoubtedly semi-popular in tenor, perhaps wholly popular. They must have been perfectly familiar to Benoît, who was born and brought up in the region with which Orderic was best acquainted (Normandy, Ile-de-France, Orléanais), and to the patrons for whom Benoît wrote his *Troie*. And they could not have failed to influence him as he composed and recited his poem from day to day. Indeed, it may have been the inspiration derived from these humbler narratives, and not the arid annals of a Dares, that first suggested to the French poet the idea of recreating the story of Troy in literature.⁶

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FURTHER TRACES OF GLEIM'S GRENADIERLIEDER

Of all the songs in Gleim's series on the events of the Seven Years War, the first, "Bey Eröffnung des Feldzuges 1756,"¹ seems to contain the gist of all the themes which the author—in the guise of a Prussian grenadier—has worked over, with varying success, in the ten following songs. And it looks as tho this

⁶ A by-product of Fatumia's enthusiasm may be a hint as to the popularity of the *Chanson de Roland* (the Oxford version). Her "More Gallorum fortiter certate, et usque ad victoriam perseverate, ne turpis cantilena de vobis cantetur in orbe" recalls the spirit and, in part, the words of Roland concerning the swords Durendal and Haltecler:

En tantes teres les avum nus portées!
Tantes batailles en avum afinées!
Male cançun n'en deit estre cantée.

Roland, ll. 1464–1466.

¹ See Vol. 4 of *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1882, p. 7 ff.

same song became more popular than any other of the series and did, therefore, much toward creating the so-called "Gleim'sche Manier" in soldiers' songs of later decades. For it is from this song more than from any other, or I might say, from all the others, that most of the later imitations seem to come.

I called attention recently² to some striking resemblances in some of the songs sung at the time of the Napoleonic wars, to Gleim's Grenadier songs. The most important of them pointed unmistakably to the song referred to above, as their model. At that time it seemed to me remarkable that Gleim's influence had lived so long among the soldiers. But I now find another anonymous soldiers' song, this time in the *Liederhort*³ which was sung in Germany as late as 1880, and which shows unmistakable evidence of the persistence of the Halberstädter's influence, and indeed of that same most popular song, "Bey Eröffnung &c."

Böhme, by including this last song in his great collection, stamps it as a "Volkslied." And it seems really to be such, if we judge it by the usual definitions of that rather evasive genre. At any rate, it was sung very widely and for a great many years by the German soldiers.⁴ So we have at last definite proof of how, after a hundred and more years, the Grenadier's spirit has completed his gradual descent from his original position as an exalted, strutting, boastful, "muse of war," and has become a lusty comrade of the common soldier.

At the left, p. 206, stands Gleim's song; next to it, extracts from the anonymous songs of the Napoleonic wars,⁵ and at the right the newer song, sung between 1866 and 1880 and probably even later.

² *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1911.

³ *Deutscher Liederhort* von Ludwig Erk, fortgesetzt von Franz M. Böhme. 3 Vols. Leipzig, 1894. See Vol. III, No. 1348.

⁴ Böhme thinks (*Liederhort*, Vol. III, p. 226) that it was first sung as early as 1866.

⁵ Quoted from "*Achtzehnhundertneun, die politische Lyrik des Kriegsjahres*" von Robert F. Arnold und Karl Wagner. Being Vol. XI of the *Schriften des Literarischen Vereins in Wien*. Wien, 1909.

Gleim

*Krieg ist mein Lied! Weil alle Welt
Krieg will, so sey es Krieg!
Berlin sey Sparta! Preussens Held
Gekrönt mit Ruhm und Sieg!*

Gern will ich seine Thaten thun;
Die Leyer in der Hand,
Wenn meine blutigen Waffen ruhn,
Und hangen an der Wand.

*Auch stimm ich hohen Schlachtgesang
Mit seinen Helden an,
Bey Pauken und Trompeten Klang,
Im Lärm von Ross und Mann;*

*Und streit' ein tapfrer Grenadier,
Von Friedrichs Muth erfüllt!
Was acht ich es, wenn über mir
Kanonen Donner brüllt?*

*Ein Held fall ich; noch sterbend droht
Mein Säbel in der Hand!
Unsterblich macht der Helden Tod,
Der Tod fürs Vaterland!*

*Auch kömmt man aus der Welt davon,
Geschwinder wie der Blitz;
Und wer ihn stirbt, bekömm't zum Lohn,
Im Himmel hohen Sitz!*

Wenn aber ich, als solch ein Held,
Dir, Mars, nicht sterben soll,
Nicht glänzen soll im Sternenzelt:
So leb' ich dem Apoll!

(Two more strophes.)

Achtzehnhundertneun

No. XXXIX—2d Strophe.

*Krieg will der Feind, so sey dem Krieg!
Wohlan, zum Kampf—zur Schlacht!
Mit Gott erfechten wir den Sieg
Und spotten fremder Macht.*

Liederhort

No. 1348

(Third strophe omitted.)

Es giebt nichts Schöneres auf der Welt,
Es kam nichts schöner sein,
Als wenn Soldaten ziehn ins Feld,
Wenn sie beisammen sein.

*Wenn blitzt, wenns donnert und wenns kracht,
Wir schliessen rosenroth;
Wenn das Blut von unsren Säbeln rinnt,
Dann haben wir frohen Muth.*

*Wie mancher deutsche Kamerad
Mus bleiben in dem Streit:
Wir Deutsche fragen nichts danach,
Wir sind dazu bereit.*

Den Leib begräbt man in die Gruft,
Der Ruhm bleibt auf der Welt.
Die Seele schwimmt sich durch die Luft
Ins blaue Himmelzelt.

No. XL—6th Strophe.

*Und fällt im Kampf der brave Mann
In diesem edlen Streit;
So sank er auf der Siegesbahn,
Wo Östreich Lorbeern streut!*

*Als Held fiel er,—noch sterbend droht
Das Schwert in seiner Hand:
Unsterblich macht der Helden Tod,
Der Tod für's Vaterland.*

No. LIII—11th Strophe.

*Und Brüdern, die als Helden fallen
Für's Vaterland den Tod,
Lohnt über Sternen, wo sie wallen,
Mit tausend Freuden Gott.*

Ditto, 12th Strophe.

(Compare with 5th strophe of Gleim's song.)

Drum frisch zum Kampf mit frohen Herzen!
Uns schützt der Allmacht Hand!
Der Heldentod macht keine Schmerzen,
Er ist für's Vaterland.

Gleim's references to Berlin and Prussia's Héro as well as all those non-popular references to the lyre, the exalted war song, Sparta, Mars and Apollo were dropt by the revampers and singers. Note what has persisted:

If the world demands it, let there be war! The din of battle inspires the soldier to do courageous deeds and leads to a feeling of indifference to danger and death. And if death does come, it takes only the body of the brave victorious soldier, whereas his soul goes upward to its reward in Heaven for the sacrifice to the Fatherland.

This mention of the soul's going to Heaven is non-popular and is fathered by Gleim alone. The idea is practically never met with in soldiers' songs other than these. A typical example of how the soldier himself treats his comrade's death, occurs in the *Liederhort* No. 1356, 3d strophe:

Ist einer geschossen, zu Boden gestreckt,
So wird er von uns begraben,
Drei Schuss, drei Schuss ins kühle Grab,
Die giebt man dem Krieger mit hinab.

Notice, further, the⁴ themes which are *not* found in this song of Gleim's—nor, for that matter, in his other songs—but which appear in other strophes, not reproduced here, of these later songs and in nearly all soldier songs. They are those which have to do with the real soldier as a human being. He remembers home, the parting, the sweetheart's kiss, etc. He sings of the less ideal enjoyments of army life—his pay, food and drink; and he looks forward to the end of the war and the return home.

The song reproduced above from the *Liederhort* is the direct descendant of a very similar one from the last decade of the eighteenth century,⁶ a version of which appeared in the *Wunderhorn*.⁷ It seems as tho the *Achtzehnhundertneun* song (No. XL, reproduced in part, p. 206), also borrowed the first half of its sixth strophe from this source. In this connection it seems remarkabl, that Goethe, in his characterization of the *Wunderhorn* songs, failed to

note that the "Halberstädter Grenadier spukt" in this song, a condition which he did note in connection with, "Auf, auf! ihr Brüder und seydt stark!"⁸—a song which contains no concrete borrowings, and which has a different strophic form from that of Gleim's songs.

Even tho the above song of Gleim's exerted the greatest influence on war lyrics, still, certain parts of others of this same series seem also to have struck a responsiv chord. Compare, for instance, the following, successively:

Gleim No. 10, l. 169 ff.

Auch folgt uns in Gefahr und Streit
Dein tapfrer Ferdinand,
Zu sterben, Held! mit dir bereit
Den Tod fürs Vaterland.

Achtzehnhundertneun No. XL, 1st Strophe

O Östreich, teures Vaterland!
Für dich sind wir bereit
Zu siegen, sterben Hand in Hand
In dem gerechten Streit!

Ditto, 6th Strophe

Und fällt im Kampf der brave Mann,
In diesem edlen Streit;
So sank er auf der Siegesbahn,
Wo Östreich Lorbeern streut!

Liederhort No. 1348, 4th Strophe

Wie mancher deutsche Kamerad
Muss bleiben in dem Streit:
Wir Deutsche fragen nicht danach,
Wir sind dazu bereit.

and note how idea and rime-words have endured hand in hand. For a similar tendency compare also, successively:

Gleim No. III, l. 21 ff.

Und böt uns in der achten Schlacht
Franzos und Russe Trutz,
So lachten wir doch ihrer Macht,
Denn Gott ist unser Schutz.

Achtzehnhundertneun No. LV, 7th Strophe

Der Name Franz sei unser Schutz,
Den raubt uns nicht der Tod;
So bieten wir den Feinden Trutz;
Denn wir vertraun auf Gott!

Ditto No. LI, 2d Strophe

Wir sind des Vaterlandes Schutz,
Wenn es der Feind bedroht;
Wir bieten seinen Scharen Trutz
Und achten nicht den Tod.

⁶ Böhme, who prints it in his *Liederhort*, No. 1346, dates it as early as 1793.

⁷ See Boxberger's edition, Berlin, Hempel, p. 86.

⁸ See Boxberger's edition, p. 345.

In addition to these *Schutz Trutz, bedroht Tod, Schlacht Macht, Streit bereit, and Hand Vaterland* rimes; the pairs *droht Gott* and *Feld Held*,—all of them used repeatedly by Gleim—appear time and again in the songs of his imitators.

Another example of plagiarism, this time of a less noble inspiration of the Grenadiers, follows:

Gleim No. 2, l. 81 ff.
Zu muthig jagte sie, zu weit,
Den zweymal flüchtigen Feind,
Der mehr durch Trug, als Tapferkeit,
Uns zu bezwingen meint.

Achtzehnhundertneun No. XLI, 4th Strophe
Gerecht fürwahr ist unser Streit
Mit diesem stolzen Feind,
Der mehr durch List als Tapferkeit
Uns zu bezwingen meint.

I might adduce, finally, an example which shows how Wilhelm Müller in one of his earliest songs, "Morgenlied am Tage der ersten Schlacht,"* written ca. 1814, cribbed from the Grenadier:

Müller, 5th Str.
Aus Franzenschädeln trinken wir
Dort unsern deutschen Trank
Und feiern Wilhelms Siegeszier
Mit altem Bardensang.

Müller, 10th Str.
Frisch auf zum Streite, Ross und Mann!
Die Schlachttrommete klingt.
Uns führen gute Engel an:
Drum, Brüder, kämpft und singt!

With this compare the following:

Gleim No. 3, l. 9 ff.
Aus deinem Schädel trinken wir
Bald deinen süßen Wein,
Du Ungar! Unser Feldpanier
Soll solche Flasche sein.

* See "The Earliest Poems of Wilhelm Müller" in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XIII, No. 2.

Gleim No. 1, l. 9 ff.
Auch stimme ich hohen Schlachtgesang
Mit seinen Helden an,
Bey Pauken und Trompeten Klang,
Im Lärm von Ross und Mann;

It seems pretty clear then, that while "Vater" Gleim's war songs themselves have probably never been very widely sung, they contained many elements—ideas, catch-phrases, rime couplets, and meter—that have in many instances become part and parcel of other songs, and these have indeed been sung widely down to very recent years,—perhaps to the present day.

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NIGHT IN THE POETRY OF HENRY VAUGHAN

The poetry of Henry Vaughan (1621?–1695) illustrates the conflicting ideals of a period of transition. In his religious poems, in particular, the spirit of the Renaissance, just before, is marked by the influence of classical paganism; the spirit of the Puritan Reformation, immediately at hand, by the influence of the Bible; and a more modern spirit, by an attitude toward nature both personal and scientific, anticipating, to some extent, the conceptions current at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Discussion of the indebtedness of Vaughan to George Herbert, or of their mutual indebtedness, must confine itself to similarities in material and technique, often to be credited to the common historical position of the two poets; the differences between them, however, involve this modern spirit apparent in Vaughan's poetry: the mystical and intimate love of nature which allies him to later Romanticists quite alien to Herbert in temper.

One of the most characteristic phases of Vaughan's poetry, which exhibits this complexity of influences under which he worked,